King Smith Klobuchar Padilla Stabenow Leahy Peters Tester Luián Reed Van Hollen Manchin Rosen Warner Markey Sanders Warnock Menendez Schatz Warren Merkley Schumer Whitehouse Murphy Shaheen Wyden Murray Sinema

## NAYS-49

Barrasso Graham Risch Blackburn Grasslev Romney Blunt Hagerty Rounds Boozman Hawley Rubio Braun Hoeven Sasse Burr Hyde-Smith Scott (FL) Capito Inhofe Scott (SC) Johnson Cassidy Shelby Collins Kennedy Sullivan Cornyn Lankford Thune Cotton Lee Tillis Marshall Cramer Toomey Crapo McConnell Tuberville Moran Cruz Wicker Daines Murkowski Young Ernst Paul Fischer Portman

## NOT VOTING-1

Lummis

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 50, the nays are 49.

The motion, upon reconsideration, is agreed to.

## EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Lisa DeNell Cook, of Michigan, to be a Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the unexpired term of fourteen years from February 1, 2010.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTION ACT

Ms. WARREN. Madam President, I rise today to urge the Senate to take action to protect abortion rights and defend our constitutional rights.

A far-right, extremist Supreme Court wants to force their views on every American. Roe v. Wade has protected the right to a safe, legal abortion for nearly 50 years. Though Republicans have tried to challenge it in court many times, the Supreme Court has reaffirmed Roe over and over and over again—until now.

So what changed? Why is something that is repeatedly referred to as "settled law" on the threshold of being swept away like so much dust? Why is a law that literally tens of millions of people have depended on to protect access to a safe, legal abortion suddenly about to evaporate?

We don't arrive here accidentally. We are here because Republican politicians have spent decades plotting for this moment. They have cultivated extremist judges. Groups like the Federalist Society have screened possible candidates and drawn up lists of which possible candidates could and could not be counted on. Extremist donors spent billions in dark money so that their preferred ideologues could chip away at people's fundamental rights and do it from the Bench. Republican candidates

for office pledged to support Justices who would get rid of Roe v. Wade. And, finally, when all of that still wasn't enough, Republicans stole two seats on the Supreme Court, all to force their unpopular minority agenda on the rest of America.

I am here to sound a warning. Republican extremism has been carefully nurtured for years. Now Republican extremism is spreading, and now it is obvious that Republican extremism knows no bounds.

Let's talk about the facts—the facts of Republican extremism—and let's begin with who pays the price for Republican extremism. Changes in abortion laws will have terrible consequences, but those consequences will not fall equally on everyone. No, those with money will always have the option to leave the State or leave the country to travel where abortion is safe and legal. No, the people who will pay the biggest price will be the most vulnerable among us-the mama already working two jobs to help make ends meet to support the children she has; the women working jobs who have no paid leave and who can't take 3 days off work to go to another State; the women in South Dakota scrambling to make an appointment at the only abortion clinic in the entire State; the 12year-old who has been molested; the person who has been raped; the women in Texas who need lifesaving care their doctors can't provide; and the women all across the country, especially women of color, already facing shamefully high maternal mortality rates because in America, carrying a pregnancy to term is 43 times riskier than a legal abortion.

These are the facts about overturning Roe v. Wade, and these are the people—disproportionately low-income women, women of color, and women in rural communities—who will pay the price for Republican extremism.

Overturning Roe is just the beginning. Republican State legislatures all across the country have already been emboldened by this Supreme Court, introducing hundreds of anti-abortion bills this year alone. States are now introducing bills to declare it a crime for someone to obtain an abortion, for someone to provide an abortion, or for someone just to help someone locate where they might get an abortion.

And where will the Republican extremists turn next? Will they investigate every miscarriage? Will they put every obstetrician and gynecologist on the watch list? Will they monitor location data for every person who pulls into the parking lot of a Planned Parenthood clinic?

Let's be absolutely clear about what will happen if this decision stands. Republicans want to do more than criminalize abortion; they want to criminalize women for making decisions about their pregnancies and their own health. This isn't theoretical. It is already coming to pass.

In Texas, where abortion has been virtually inaccessible to millions of

Texans for the last 8 months, a young woman has been charged with murder for an alleged self-induced abortion.

An Oklahoma law has passed that would outlaw abortion even in the case of rape or incest. But what Republicans are really after is criminalizing women's very bodies.

In Louisiana, Republicans are pushing for the most extreme bill yet, legislation that would classify abortion as a homicide. If enacted, this bill could criminalize women for using certain forms of birth control or even for having a miscarriage that she had no control over.

And we know who will be the most affected by the overcriminalization of women's bodies. It will be women of color who are already overpoliced and face the greatest barriers to accessing healthcare.

The intrusiveness of these State laws is vile. Efforts to give fertilized eggs "personhood" rights and to criminalize abortion could make IVF procedures criminal, depriving someone who wants to get pregnant the only option available to her.

As some States get more and more aggressive about intruding into the private lives of millions of women, just this weekend, the Republican leader, MITCH McConnell, signaled he is open to even more extremism. He said that a nationwide abortion ban was "possible" if Republicans retake the majority—a nationwide abortion ban applicable in every State, including those States that are currently working overtime to protect access to abortion; a nationwide abortion ban applicable to girls who have been molested and to people who have been raped and to women who are already working three jobs to support the women they have. Republican extremism is spreading. Republican extremism knows no bounds

For me, this isn't about politics; this is personal. I have lived in a world where abortion was illegal. I learned early on that when the law bans abortions, only safe and legal abortions will actually be banned. I lived in a world in which women bled to death from back-ally abortions, a world in which infections and other complications destroyed women's futures, a world in which women's educations and lives were derailed by an unplanned pregnancy, a world in which some women took their own lives rather than continuing with a pregnancy they could not bear.

I have also lived in a world where abortion is legal. For decades, expanded access to abortion has allowed people to make decisions about their own bodies and lives, promoting access to life-changing opportunities and careers that have previously seemed out of reach. But the Republican extremists and the extremist Justices they have put on the Supreme Court just don't care. They want to send us back to the days when women's rights to control their own bodies and their own futures simply did not exist.